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ABSTRACT

Because public opinion polls have become important sources of information for legislators and politicians, public opinion pollsters should carefully consider the relationships between gender wording of polling questions, measurement errors, and validity and generalizability of survey findings. Findings from numerous research projects indicate that wording of questions is a major factor influencing polling results. It is hypothesized that gender wording of polling questions is a major factor contributing to errors in public opinion measurement. Review of sociolinguistic literature reveals a growing controversy over use of the male pronoun to indicate females as well as males. Analysis of gender images in 3,358 questions asked by nine polling organizations from 1963-73 indicates that 10% of questions were gender discriminatory. Areas in which women are significantly underrepresented in the questions include politics, status concerns, and economic affairs. Findings indicate that questions did not change during the 30 year period of analysis to reflect increasing labor force participation by women. One implication of the research is that gender biased public opinion poll questions serve to perpetuate sex stereotypes and cultural values. (Author/DB)

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GENDER ISSUES IN NATIONAL SURVEYS: THE LANGUAGE OF THE POLLSTERS: 1936-1973

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It has been stated that public opinion and public opinion polls are two quite different things, and some critics of the polls point out that the use of scientific terminology and presentation of statistics can serve to render many poll readers incapable of evaluating results. Yet, public opinion polls have increasingly become a source of information for legislators and politicians who are directly involved with policy planning as well as for a majority of this nation's households. Polling results contain a variety of data on national and personal issues, and many of us often accept these results without question. This paper will take a critical look at the polling process through an examination of the questions pollsters ask to obtain a picture of the public's opinions.

Validity represents a key concept in a discussion of measurement error and involves consideration of the adequacy of a given measurement. In the data gathering phase of polling, there are numerous problems of measurement. A major one is evaluating what polling results shall be considered true differences in what the pollster is attempting to measure and what shall be considered variations due to errors in measurement. This research analyzes a particular type of measurement error, that involving the gender wording of polling questions.

Earlier literature on question wording points out several factors which can influence polling results. An appeal to prejudice by the use of particular names of institutions or persons of prestige can color results obtained (Cantril, 1940; Rugg, 1940). The use of positive or negative statements can also affect response patterns (Blankenship, 1940; Rugg, 1940; Stagner, 1941). The order of alternatives, their number and phrasing can also bias the results of questions asked (Blankenship, 1940; Gallup, 1941; Payne, 1951; Becker, 1954; Stouffer, 1955; Nakumura, 1959; Noelle-Neumann, 1970; Schuman and Duncan,

1974; Wheeler, 1976). This article suggests differences in gender wording of polling questions can lead to measurement errors and serve to reinforce and perpetuate traditional stereotypes of women and men in society.

The Use of Gender in Language

The English system of gender approves use of the pronouns "he," "his," "him," to convey an unspecified human being and the use of the noun "man" to convey humanity in general. Within recent years, these personal pronouns and noun have become a focus of controversy for a growing field of socio-linguistics, which questions gender neutrality of words. Lakoff(1973) and others, (Martyr, n.d.; Murray, 1973; Conklin, 1974; Bate, 1975; Thorne and Henley, 1975) point, in particular, to the differential usage of the pronominal system which they find results in an exclusion of women. Consider the statement by Murray (1973): " You spent four thousand dollars to send your child to college this fall. Now spend sixty more to keep him there " (Murray,1973). She comments on this statement as follows:

> When people read that sentence they do not just brush over the male pronoun him as if it were a meaningless placeholder. I think people inevitably call up a mental image of a male student. In their unconscious semantic systems, the him really does represent a male....It seems to me that an egalitarian pronoun system, him-or-her, for instance, could cause people to call up a mental image of a woman student presumably half the time, and give women, for the first time, the opportunity to identify with the concept of unmarked humanness (Murray, 1973:50).

It has been noted empirically that generic terms only refer to males as the masculine pronouns indicate (Miller and Swift, 1972). A sample of students presented with such images as "political man" and "urban man" viewed them as corresponding to males only (Schneider and Hacker, 1972).

Language has the power to define and reinforce social reality and it can determine how one thinks and what one sees (Whorf, in Carroll, 1956; Sapir,

1933). Benjamin Whorf and Edward Sapir phrased what is now called the hypothesis of psycholinguistic relativity. According to this hypothesis, how we perceive, how we think, and even how we formulate our basic philosophies depend upon the structure of the language we speak. In its strongest form, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis argues that language determines thought and behavior patterns.On the one hand, there are those linguists who argue that language reflects social behavior and is not a cause of it (Farb, 1973:164; Haugen, 1974; Lakoff, 1973). They note that the problem of women's status will not be solved by "dismantling" the language to include female nouns and pronouns, rather, they assert one must begin to make clear changes in the social status of women and language change will follow naturally: " Even if it were in our power to legislate changes in the platitudes of words, the attitudes would nevertheless remain (Farb, 1973:164). The controversy over whether language affects human behavior still remains a complex issue.While it may be argued that women are not assigned the role of homemaker and men the role of careermaker because the language puts it that way, language helps to perpetuate these stereotypes through time. Pinpointing where linguistic biases are built into language will serve to raise the consciousness of individuals concerning the roles of men and women in society. An examination of polling language is most important in this context since pollsters have power through their highly amplified voices in the mass media to shape and reinforce public opinion, and their polling results help to formulate social policy. Polling language performs a sex-stereotyping function when gender specific questions assign a distinct set of attributes to the category "male" or "female" which ignores the actual degree of variation within that gender. Polling language is said to perpetuate and/or reinforce stereotypes and cultural values when the language does not change despite large-scale variation and/or change in the objective situations

of gender referrents. For example, if polling language continues to assign women the role of housewife after large scale increases in women's labor force participation have occurred, polling language will be viewed as both reinforcing cultural definitions as well as perpetuating stereotypes.

In order to pinpoint where gender linguistic biases are built into polling questions, the authors performed a content analysis of polling questions from the SURVEY DATA FOR TREND ANALYSIS: AN INDEX TO REPEATED QUESTIONS IN U.S. NATIONAL SURVEYS HELD BY THE ROPER PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTER. This index contains questions asked by nine polling organizations from 1936-1973. More specifically this research will analyze gender images in polling questions to learn the social context of gender reference. The following gender codes are utilized.

Male: When the subject matter referred to personal pronouns such as "he," "his," or "him" as well as nouns such as "man," or "boy."

Female: When the subject matter referred to pronouns such as "she," "her," "her," and nouns such as "woman," and girl."

Male and Female: When the subject matter contained both male and female pronouns and/or nouns within the same question.

Gender Non-discriminatory/non-gender: When the subject matter referred to a specific individual such as "President Roosevelt, he ..." o. when the subject matter contained the words "workers," "persons," with no specific gender pronoun reference.

A total of 3358 questions were analyzed for their gender content.

Table 1 shows that 90% of the questions were either gender non-specific or gender non-discriminatory. While the number of gender specified questions

(PLACE TABLE 1 HERE)

is a small percentage--ten percent--of the total, they contain the greatest concentration of attitudinal questions; that is, they ask a respondent for his or her opinion on topics dealing with economic, social and political roles in

society.

Max Weber defines three bases to classify people in a social hierarchy. The term class refers to people in similar economic positions; status group refers to a category of people who are high or low in social honor. Power is the ability to influence political decision making (Gerth and Mills, 1958). The basic hypotheses around which an analysis was made concern the differential gender wording of questions along these three stratification dimensions. We expect gender differences in wording to appear as follows:

> Males will be in the majority of questions on all dimensions: class, status and power.
>
> Females, when mentioned, will be most prevalent on the status dimension.

The Index groups questions into categories which range from agriculture to economics to politics. The categories that contained gender references were placed into one of Weber's three dimensions of social stratification. Tables 2 and 3 analyze the questions containing those gender references.

(PLACE TABLES 2 AND 3 HERE)

When we examine gender representation along these dimensions we note in Table 2 that women are represented mostly in the status and political categories. Womens' representation on the political dimension, however, is deceptive. Many of the questions on International Relations refer to women, but in a limited sense. For example, a typical question in the Index reads: " Which of these do you think is likely to be true in 1960- a year when Russia will increase her power in the world, or a year when Russian power will decline?" Although a political inquiry, the idea of female gender is related to the country of Russia. If such questions were omitted, gender representation of

women in this category would decrease. Men also are most frequently mentioned in the political dimension, with status concerns second, and economic affairs third.

In Table 3, we note that men are mentioned most often within each of the class, status and power dimensions. In the political dimension, gender representation of males occurs 88% of the time, while female representation occurs 12%. Men are also mentioned more often (68%) than women (2.6%) in the economic dimension, while men and women together appear in 29% of the questions. Men are referred to 60% of the time in the status dimension, while women are mentioned 27%.

These two tables reveal differences in gender representation along major stratification dimensions. Male nouns and pronouns occur more often than female nouns and pronouns on all dimensions, but the greatest differences appear within the political and class dimensions. Where female referrents appear more frequently, in the status dimension, questions containing male nouns and pronouns predominate. The questions linking men and women are mostly economic, followed by status issues. Men and women are virtually absent in the political dimension.

An important issue arises from this analysis. If the generic "he" was used in the polls, no gender difference would be evident; women would not appear at all. Therefore, a sample of the questions was analyzed in depth to determine how gender differs within each of these dimensions. Several questions guide the analysis:

In what roles are men and women protrayed in these questions?

Do these roles serve to stereotype men and women into specific role spheres?

Table 4 contains index questions illustrating wording differences in occupational roles and life style; Weber's criteria for prestige and status.

(PLACE TABLE 4 HERE)

An analysis of the status/prestige dimension reveals that on the criteria of occupations, females have been omitted over several decades. The polls ask questions concerning occupations and professions for sons and young men rather than sons/men, daughters/women, boys and girls, or young persons. Furthermore, the questions do not reflect actual changes that occurred in the social world during the decades the polls were taken. Even if the purpose of the polls was to measure attitudes towards specific occupations or to assess potential work force participation, they nevertheless suggest that career planning is a male goal and women neither plan careers nor seek occupational advice. Even in 1974, AIPO asked : " Suppose a young man asked about a profession, which would you first recommend: doctor; lawyer; engineer; professor-teacher; businessman; dentist; clergyman government; banker; don't know?" (Current Opinion, II,2,1977:21).

The focus on young men continues into current questions. A Gallup poll conducted in December, 1976, noted that there was public support for youth projects for young men, and asked the following: "I t is proposed that the Federal Government set up youth camps such as the C.C.C. of the 1930's, for young men who want to learn a trade or earn a little money by outdoor work. Do you think this is a good idea or a poor idea?" (Current Opinion,V,2,1977:23).

The occupation questions also demonstrate that high prestige careers (banker, doctor, etc.) are only considered possibilities for young men.

Paradoxically, the questions not only survey attitudes and reinforce gender norms, but also introduce changing careers for men (questions 3 and 4). Choices in technology, science, electronics and mathematics were included in the 1960's coinciding with the expansion of space programs, computer industries and the need to supply trained individuals for these careers. Although social reality suggests that greater numbers of females are entering managerial occupations and the professions, polling questions as late as 1974, continue to portray only men in these roles. Despite greater educational attainment for women, and in view of career pattern change due in part to shifting age-sex ratio in the population, the survey questions reinforce traditional norms. Examination of women's labor force participation shows that drastic change has occurred between 1950 and 1974 when the number of women workers nearly doubled, and the ratio of women per one-hundred men rose from .41 in 1950 to .63 in 1974 (U.S. Department of Labor,1975:26-27). In view of current statistics, it might be more fruitful to survey opinion and measure attitudes about the world as it exists rather than asking non-reality based questions.

Another aspect of the status/prestige dimension is the criteria, life style. The application of role prescriptions and the assignment of role relationships is typical for this status criteria. For example, a behavioral norm consistent with the image of "the woman at home" is implied in question 5 concerning drinking. It is important tonote the omission of men in such a question, which suggests different appropriate gender behavior, reinforces ideas of dual behaviors, and evokes negative images of women who drink in public. Since the question was dropped in 1957, we may conclude that either the prescription had changed, or that interests in drinking behaviors had shifted to alcohol consumption generally. Nevertheless, such questions are

examples of role prescription in survey questions.

Role prescription and assignment of role relationships are also promulgated in other ways in these questions. Focus in the questions describing "women as earners" (questions 7 and 8), is equal pay, but the underlying theme is competitive relationships between males and females in the work sphere. According to the questions the underlying theme is "traditional woman, married, with or without children, but generally with a husband for support. If she moves out of this dependent role, she competes with men in the male-traditional roles of worker and family supporter. Although these questions may have reflected legitimate social concerns about employment and earnings in the Depression years, they ignored the need of many women to be self-supporting or contribute to family income. It is interesting to note that these questions were not asked during World War II, when women had to fill the independent worker role. However, traditional roles and relationships reemerged in the questions when men returned to the labor market subsequently. It has been noted that during crises such as wars, the roles of women in the occupational and political sphere become de-differentiated (Lipman-Blumen,1973). To include the same type of question in 1972 overlooks social change and perpetuates gender stereotypes despite evidence of increasing labor force participation by all women--single, married, with or without children. Data shows that labor force participation rates between 1950 and 1975 increased by 12% for single women, 86.6% for married women with husband present, and by 7.7% for married women with spouse absent. In addition, the traditional role of wife and mother appear to have merged with worker as demonstrated by the increased participation of women with husbands and children under six years. There was an increase of 208% between 1950 and 1974. In the same period, the rate for married women with no husband present rose by 33% .

(U.S. Department of Labor, Monthly Labor Review, Nov, 1975).

(PLACE TABLE 5 HERE)

Table 5 presents a sample of questions from the political dimension. As was mentioned previously, the largest percentage of gender worded questions in the political dimension of social stratification contains male referrents. Since women have been underrepresented in politics, we anticipated this finding . However, we did expect some shift in gender-wording during the last decade as more women were elected to public offices on national and local levels. Although only few women held Federal legislative office, these individuals would have provided female models for some political questions. Between 1965 and 1970, for example, fourteen women held Congressional offices, and the number of women candidates on the Federal level increased by 38% in 1972 and in 1974 , similar increases also appear at the state level (U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau;1976:55).

(PLACE TABLE 6 HERE)

The Class/Economic dimension of stratification contain questions on economic affairs, taxation and labor, and its gender representation is similar to the political dimension. The questions focus on conduct of business and evaluation of government and labor policies. The primary referrents of all questions are men (68%) while women are represented by themselves in only one question (3%). In all other questions, women appear only

in conjunction with men and/or in a family context. Workers are "he" and only families receive income. The one question about a female portrays her as a working mother:

> Do you think mothers who are working should or should not be allowed in figuring their Federal Income Tax to deduct from their earnings the amount they have to pay babysitters? (Time Period:1952-1953)

One may conclude that economic questions are constructed around a view of reality where men are workers and families are nuclear. This view is reinforced in questions spanning the years 1943 to 1973.

Follow-up 1976.

In March, 1976, the Gallup Opinion Index, published a special report on "Women in America." This study deals with perceptions women have of their role in society. Gallup separates the study into five distinct areas: politics, general life styles, working, discrimination, and the feminist movement. In the political realm, the report notes "the time has never been better for a woman to enter politics." Yet, we are told that women attempting to run for President would still face opposition. We are told that many women still oppose the equal rights amendment . While women now comprise nearly half the labor force in America, they are still stereotyped from the point of view of perceived skills and the gender of the persons which the public as a whole would rather deal with --i.e., men. The report finds a common thread running through its findings :

> In most if not all circumstances, it is the attitudes of the female population that most directly serve to help restrain women from breaking old stereotypes, ending discrimination, and finally achieving the goal of sexual equality. It is among women, obviously, that attitudes must change initially if men are to alter the perceptions and opinions of women that have been reinforced over many generations (Gallup, 1976:128).

In this explanation of their findings, Gallup places most of the blame for inequality on women and their perceptions of themselves. "Blaming the victim" serves to deflect attention away from alternative explanations. In the context of this paper, one cannot help but cite the importance of the questions pollsters ask. We find that they serve to perpetuate stereotypes of men and women's role in society. The 1976 poll still continues to portray women in such roles as is evidenced by the following question taken from this poll: "Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?" (Gallup, 1976:128.[7]

Several conclusions follow from our analysis. Women appear in the traditional role of homemaker, and men in the role of provider. There are fewer role alternatives for women. They have no place in politics, occupy no positions of leadership, nor important careers. Their invisibility reinforces the notion that the political and economic world is for "men only." When men and women are mentioned together, they are viewed as competitive. This is clearly the case concerning question of earning power.

Several methodological, social and political implications of gender wording emerge from our analysis and findings.

Polling Language: Methodological, Social and Policy Implications of Gender Bias

National pollsters spend a great deal of time and money to obtain a sample which is representative of a given population in order to insure generalizability of their results. What has been overlooked in the research process is the problem of validity and generalizability. Often noted in textbooks on questionnaire development is a statement such as: As an ideal,

try to choose words that have the same meaning for everyone (Riley, 1963). The widespread use of the structured questionnaire in the national surveys assumes that all respondents will understand the same thing by the same words. When the generic terms "he," "his," "him" or "man" are utilized in a question one cannot, as we have concluded in our discussion of the class status and power dimensions, assume these words are referring to a single society composed of both men and women. Further issues are raised as to what populations such gender biased questions can be generalized to: men and women, or only men, or only women. Many legislators and other policy makers look to the polls as indicators of public opinion. Very often, however, polling results published in newspapers or reported on radio or TV do not include the question on which results are based. The reader or viewer has no idea of the validity or generalizability of the results. Wheeler (1976) bemoans the fact that questions are seldom released:

> Harris usually does not supply the wording of the questions which are asked for his syndicated column, and he is sensitive about criticism on this point." (Wheeler, 1976:94-95).

Wheeler also places part of the blame on the mass media by noting that editors who want snappy headlines often cut out the explanations or ambiguities and inconsistencies of opinion (Wheeler, 1976:130).

Gender biased questions serve to perpetuate stereotypes of women as non-occupiers of any rank on the dimensions of class, status and power. We noted that these biases exist despite large scale changes in the position of women on these dimensions. We know also that mass media information is particularly powerful in reinforcing existing stereotypes by providing, justifying or supporting reasons for a gender preference (Klapper, 1960).

Weiss notes that:

> ...more than grudging acknowledgement must be given to the media's role in conserving or reinforcing existing viewpoints by providing justifying or supporting reasons for a preference, whether for a particular brand or a candidate, or in transforming uncertainty or unawareness into a definite opinion. These occurrences do constitute significant attitudinal effects even though they are not so dramatic as a 'change of heart' (Weiss, 1969:102).

The interviewing of respondents further perpetuates these stereotypes .

Duncan and Schuman state:

> Interviewing is a type of social interaction which involves influence. This is more than a matter of status differences between the interviewer and respondent or interviewer effects more generally, because it also involves the substantive argument inherent in any question wording. Public attitudes are seldom so well crystallized that they fail to be affected by the strength and content with which particular questions and their alternatives are worded (Duncan and Schuman, 1974:250).

Rogers (1960) notes that the interview as a form of interpersonal communication is particularly effective in reinforcing and changing attitudes. There are possible long term patterns of reinforcement to consider as well. Many of these polling questions have been repeated many times per year over as mush as a thirty to thirty-five year period. Slow cumulative changes may be occurring in respondent's attitudes. Such extended reinforcement of stereotyped attitudes and their socialization function cannot be ignored

The questions in the index are repeated through time and such data is used in trend analysis to ascertain changes in attitudes over time. Change in the questions, however, only takes place as a function of what is asked. Questions on social change often exclude women. In doing so such change questions, ironically, serve to perpetuate the status quo. When pollsters limit their attention as they have to men and changes in their occupational and political world, it is in the service of ignoring changes taking place in women's world.

We have no idea of the results we would obtain in these surveys if we added the pronoun "she" to many of the questions. We know from previous research that the sex of the interviewer makes a difference in respondent's replies, as

does the length of the interview, etc. Survey researchers must begin to sensitize themselves to the important methodological, social and policy implications of the gender wording of questions. It may be, as Stagner(1941) suggests, that ultimately we have to compile a word list for opinion statements with definite experimental evidence showing either that these words are truly neutral for a sample of public to be tested or that matched forms can accurately be balanced by the use of appropriate terms.

TABLE 1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF GENDER DISTRIBUTION

GENDER	PERCENT
Male	7.0
Female	1.0
Male & Female	1.0
Non-Gender/ Gender Non-Discriminatory	90.00
TOTAL	99.0% (3358)

TABLE 2

GENDER DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN CATEGORIES[1]

CATEGORY	GENDER MEN	%	WOMEN	%	MEN & WOMEN	%
Political Dimension	154	(61.9)	21	(44.7)	1	(2.9)
Class Dimension	26	(10.4)	1	(2.0)	11	(31.4)
Status Dimension	44	(17.7)	20	(42.6)	10	(28.6)
Other	25	(10.0)	5	(10.6)	13	(37.1)
TOTAL	249	(100.0)	47	(100.0)	35	(100.0)

d.f.=6
χ^2 = 81.2085
Significant at .001 level

1

Political Dimension contains questions on: Government; Politics; Military Affairs; War; Congress; Communism; Russia; International Relations; Veteran's Affairs; Asia; China.

Class Dimension contains questions on: Economic Affairs, Labor, Taxation

Status Dimension contains questions on: Education; Marriage and Family; Religion; Status, Role and Prestige.

Other contains questions in categories with gender representation less than 0.1%. The categories are: Business, Clothing, Consumers, Crime & Justice, Minorities, Press, Spain, Sports, Transport, World Figures, Yugoslavia.

TABLE 3

GENDER DISTRIBUTION WITHIN CATEGORIES

CATEGORY	GENDER			
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN & WOMEN	TOTAL FOR CATEGORY
	%	%	%	%
Political Dimension	87.5	11.9	0.3	100 (176)
Class Dimension	68.4	2.6	28.9	100 (38)
Status Dimension	59.5	27.0	13.5	101 (74)
Other	58.1	11.6	30.2	100 (43)

TABLE 4 SAMPLE INDEX QUESTIONS

DIMENSION AND TOPIC	SAMPLE QUESTIONS	GENDER	TIME PERIOD
STATUS DIMENSION			
Occupations:	1. If you had a son just getting out of school, would you like to see him go into politics as a life work?	Male	1943-1973
	2. Suppose a boy or girl asks your advice about becoming a lawyer, would you advise him or her to plan to be a lawyer or to keep away from law?	Male and Female	1946
	3. Suppose a young man came to you and asked your opinion about taking up a profession, assuming that he was qualified to enter any of these professions, which one of them would you first recommend to him: engineer-builder; banker; business executive; clergyman; dentist; doctor; government career; lawyer; professor-teacher?	Male	1973
	4. What occupations or fields do you think now offer the greatest opportunities for young men - law, teaching, engineering, technology, science, math, armed services, business, industry, sales, advertising, electronics, gov't or politics, medicine, ministry.	Male	1961
	5. Do you think it is easier or harder today for a young man to get ahead in his line of work than it was, say, 25 years ago.	Male	1939-1950
Life Style:	6. Do you object to women drinking in public places, such as bars and restaurants, or not?	Female	1937-1957
	7. If a young single woman is doing exactly the same kind of work which she is doing as well as a married man with children, do you think she should receive exactly the same rate of pay?	Male and Female	1945
	8. Do you think a married woman who has n children under 16 and whose husband makes enough to support her should or should not be allowed to take a job if she wants to?	Male and Female	1946
	9. Do you approve of a married woman earning money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?	Female	1938-1972
	10. Should women receive the same pay as men for doing the same work?	Male and Female	1973

TABLE 5 SAMPLE INDEX QUESTIONS

DIMENSION AND TOPIC:		SAMPLE QUESTIONS:	GENDER	YEAR
POLITICAL DIMENSION:				
Congress:	1.	If the party whose candidate you most often support nominated a woman for President of the United States, would you vote for her if she seemed best qualified for the job?	Female	1945-1972
	2.	Do you happen to know the name of the present representative in Congress from your district? Is he a Democrat or Republican? Do you know if he voted on any major bills this year? Has he done anything for the district that you definitely know about? Has he done any favors for you?	Male	1965-1970

TABLE 6 SAMPLE INDEX QUESTIONS

DIMENSION AND TOPIC:		SAMPLE QUESTIONS	GENDER	YEAR
ECONOMIC DIMENSION:				
Taxation:	1.	Would you be in favor of setting a top limit on the percentage of income tax a person would have to pay no matter what he makes? What is the highest percent in income tax any man should pay?	Male	1946
Labor	2.	Some labor unions make jobs for their members by requiring employers to hire more men than are actually needed to do a particular job. The unions say this is necessary in order to give work to all their members. Would you favor having a law passed which would stop this practice?	Male	1973

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